

PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

No. 1,279

London, December 30, 1960

SIXPENCE

US Air Express
Edition 10 cents

Committee of 100 outline plans

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

FURTHER information became available this week about the mass Polaris protest—scheduled for February 18—which will be led by Bertrand Russell and the Rev. Michael Scott.

At about that time the U.S. depot ship Proteus, carrying stocks of the missiles, is expected in the Clyde.

The Committee of 100, the organisers of the non-violent sit-down protest in London, are demanding the immediate scrapping of the Polaris agreement. In their demonstration outside the Ministry of Defence they will "serve notice on the Government that they can no longer stand aside while preparations are being made for the destruction of mankind."

A declaration to this effect will be signed by all demonstrators and posted on the Defence Ministry door.

2,000 volunteers

The Committee have stated that the protest will be held only if at least 2,000 volunteers come forward to take part. In an appeal for support which they have been

ANOTHER YOUTH EXECUTED

Vigorous campaign against hanging

A NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD YOUTH WAS HANGED IN GLASGOW THREE DAYS BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

NEXT FRIDAY ANOTHER EXECUTION WILL TAKE PLACE AT LINCOLN PRISON. THERE ARE OTHER CASES SUB JUDICE—INCLUDING THE WORTHING BANK MURDER BY TEENAGERS—AT THE END OF WHICH BRITAIN'S HANGMEN MAY BE EXPECTED TO BE GIVEN MORE WORK.

The recently revived National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment is pushing ahead with a new campaign to rid Britain of the gallows for good.

A mass rally will be held at the Albert Hall on April 18 which a large number of speakers are expected to address for five or ten minutes each. Among them will be **Lord Altrincham**, the Conservative peer and writer; **Gerald Gardiner, QC**, a joint chairman (with Victor Gollancz) of the Campaign; **Sydney Silverman, MP**, who has led the abolitionist cause in the House of Commons; **Kingsley Amis**, the writer and University lecturer; and the **Bishop of Colchester**.

The Campaign is also organising a Memorial to be presented to the Prime Minister at the beginning of the next session of Parliament, about October, 1961. He will thus receive it shortly before the present Homicide Act comes up for review. The Act

has been done towards abolishing executions. It has another leaflet, *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, which is also free.

Another pamphlet by Gerald Gardiner, *Capital Punishment as a Deterrent and the Alternative*, will be ready at the end of January, price 1s. 6d. These are all available from the Campaign office, 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2.

The two joint chairmen recently wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland regarding last week's execution in Glasgow. The youth's parents had spent

are demanding the immediate abolition of the Polaris agreement. In their demonstration outside the Ministry of Defence they will "serve notice on the Government that they can no longer stand aside while preparations are being made for the destruction of mankind."

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"The Government's nuclear weapons policy must now be challenged directly and by sufficiently large numbers in a form that cannot be ignored by the authorities."

On February 18—a Saturday—demonstrators will assemble in Trafalgar Square at 1.30 p.m. for a brief meeting. Half an hour later they will march down Whitehall into Parliament Square and so to the Ministry of Defence. There they will sit on the pavement and grass verge while their declaration is posted.

Risking arrest

Participants in the sit-down will be risking arrest on a minor charge, such as obstructing a policeman in the course of his duty. The Committee are preparing detailed briefings containing the necessary legal information for volunteers.

The Committee secretary, Michael Randle, told *Peace News* that there are several ways in which people can help the demonstration:

- The "most important thing" is for volunteers to send in their names as soon as possible, as the action will not go forward without enough support.
- A supporting march will follow immediately behind the demonstrators. Volunteers who do not feel able to take part in the sit-down are urged to join this.
- Copies of the Committee's printed appeal for volunteers need widespread distribution.
- The Committee are also appealing for funds to help mount and call attention to the protest.

The Committee of 100's address is: 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. (ARCHway 1239).

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In this connection the Campaign is writing to as many influential people as possible for their signatures to the Memorial. Reply-paid postcards are being sent to every headmaster in the country, well-known figures in the universities, mayors, local government officials, and people in the legal profession.

The Campaign is distributing free its pamphlet, *Facts About Capital Punishment*, which sets out chronologically all that has

been done towards abolishing executions. It has another leaflet, *Thou Shalt Not Kill*, which is also free.

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1960 and 1961

Three turn-of-the-year feature articles reviewing the last twelve months and looking ahead to what these events might mean for 1961.

J. ALLEN SKINNER

looks at 1960 as the year in which the development of weaponry overshadowed everything—even Africa.

page five

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

calls 1961 Africa's year of decision. He discusses this in the context of colonial freedom and the new political alignments.

page two

CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

discusses the development during 1960 of mass non-violent action and alternative politics.

page four

Photo: Bournemouth Times



PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing Office:

5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Tel. TERminus 8248

Cables: HOWPA, London.

Distribution office for North America:

160 North Fifteenth St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second class matter, Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

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INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE through informal hospitality of the Marriage Club. Both London and country members invited. Mrs. Prue White, 14 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of the peace and world politics. Threepence weekly. Ob-

1961 will be Africa's year of decision

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



WHAT will the New Year bring to Africa and the colonial world—or, rather, what will Africa and the colonial world bring to the New Year?

The distinction is important. Until now the fate of the new nations has been determined by powers outside themselves. Now they are the determining influence.

"Africa's Year of Destiny"—that is how 1960 was described. "Africa's Year of Decision"—that is how 1961 will be described.

Two-thirds of the people of Africa are now politically independent. All North Africa except Algeria. Practically all West Africa as far south as the River Congo. East Africa until Kenya and Zanzibar are reached. Only in the South—the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique and the Union of South Africa (with its annexed South West Africa)—is White rule firmly entrenched.

There is hope that Algeria will be assured of independence before the New Year ends. President de Gaulle had built his policy on the hope of a "moderate" Moslem opinion which would not owe allegiance to the Provisional Government exiled in Tunisia. He now realises that all Moslem Algeria is behind Ferhat Abbas and is beginning to talk of negotiation with the "rebel" leaders.

French pressure

Three issues have to be settled: a cease-fire, the terms of a plebiscite, the supervision of the plebiscite. They will not be easily resolved, but pressure for peace is so strong in France that agreement should be reached before we are half way through 1961. There are two difficulties.

The French President is still thinking in terms of a possible partition of Algeria. Ferhat Abbas will not contemplate that. A solution might be found on the basis of considerable regional autonomy.

The French President still resents any suggestion of a non-French supervision of the plebiscite, and the unfortunate failure at the United Nations of the Afro-Asian resolution to get a two-thirds' majority rules out UN action. A possible solution would be observation by representatives of the ex-French territories including Morocco

and communications. But the bigger idea fostered by Julius Nyerere will emerge prominently during the year: a federation of all East and Central Africa.

The Dark South. I'm afraid the New Year will not see anything like the realisation of liberty in the Portuguese territories or South Africa. The best we can hope for is mounting pressure, within and without.

There is a small crumb for the new United Front of the national movements in the Portuguese colonies: the Afro-Asian vote kept Portugal (nominated by America and, to our shame, by Britain) out of the United Nations Security Council. And there is a new warning to the Union Government of South Africa: Pondoland shows that organised resistance to *apartheid* has spread from the towns to the African reserves.

The scandal of South West Africa will challenge the world in the New Year. The International Court of Justice will give its ruling on the Union Government's maladministration of the mandate, and the United Nations will seek to carry out the General Assembly instruction to send a committee of investigation.

Incidentally but emphatically, the attitude of the British delegation at the United Nations on this issue was the last word in political hypocrisy. I am sorry to use strong language, but it is justified.

On Thursday, December 15, the Government accepted a Labour motion in the House of Commons instructing it to take action in the United Nations on South West Africa. On Sunday, December 18, the British delegation was in the minority of three who abstained from calling on the Union Government to revoke *apartheid* laws in South West Africa. Britain's colleagues were Portugal and Australia.

Congo's future

There are two issues relating to independent Africa of the greatest importance. The first is, of course, the future of the

sides backed by the rival Power blocs. That would be unfathomable disaster.

The second issue is the need to rebuild co-operation between the independent African States. The main division is with a group of ex-French colonies, though there are other differences. I hope that during 1961 steps will be taken to bring them together in a Community of Africa.

As one looks forward to the New Year we must not forget the colonies and new nations outside Africa—the need to re-establish a neutral Laos in South East Asia, to progress towards independence in the West Indies and British Guiana, and to end the dictatorship in Malta. An announcement of a new policy for Malta will be made early in the New Year.

I am not optimistic. Let us hope, however, that it will be a good beginning for 1961.

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£4,000,000 a day

WHO said: "Every gun made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, theft from those who hunger and are not fed"? Answer: President Eisenhower.

Who said: "The world needs the constructive use of the large resources now devoted to armaments"? Answer: Mr. Macmillan.

Who said: "We would like to devote all our economy and resources to peaceful purposes"? Answer: Mr. Khrushchev.

These unexpected utterances are recorded in a new and striking leaflet published by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation. "A Christian Challenge" is thrown out. Peace requires disarmament, disarmament releases resources, resources can

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SCIENTISTS IN BLUNDERLAND: 44 pages post free. REALIST, 36 Lyme St., London, N.W.1.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

WANTED: Someone to take over house duties and cooking for two ladies; vegetarian preferred. Ample time off for meeting, etc.—Murphy, 44 The Ridgeway, Golders Green, London, N.W.11.

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Sends New Year Greetings to all opponents of Verwoerd's race dictatorship, and begs them to sign "The Penny Pledge" to boycott South African goods as a New Year Resolution of solidarity with the people of Pondoland and all South Africans struggling against Apartheid.

200 Gower Street, London, W.C.1

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In West Africa the independent nations will be joined by Sierra Leone early in the year. This leaves only Gambia in the British sphere. During the year proposals may be considered for the federation of this narrow strip of territory with one of the neighbouring free nations.

East Africa. The road is now clear for advance towards democratic self-government leading to independence in Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Kenya and Uganda have problems.

Kenya's land

The Europeans in Kenya are fearful of Kenyatta and of land expropriation. Kenyatta will certainly be released, and one doesn't expect the new African majority in the Legislature to refuse fair compensation.

Uganda's progress to democracy is being resisted not so much by the British as by the traditional tribal rules in the province of Buganda. Their boycott of registration for the election of the new Legislature is serious, but I foresee a solution on the lines of Buganda autonomy with new elections in its area.

A question mark still hangs over the Central African Federation, which so far has been a European dictatorship.

Nyasaland has now got its African-majority franchise, and elections will be held, at latest, in May. Northern Rhodesia will get its African majority this year. The danger-point is Southern Rhodesia, where a big breach divides Sir Edgar Whitehead's offer of an African majority in 15 years and Joshua Nkomo's demand for immediate adult suffrage.

As for the Federation, it will disappear in any recognisable form; there may be a Commission to co-ordinate the economies

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There are two issues relating to independent Africa of the greatest importance. The first is, of course, the future of the Congo. I have space only to say that, despite UN indecision, I think it likely that the New Year will see the re-assembly of the elected Parliament, its endorsement of an authoritative Government, and a constitutional conference attended by the rival leaders to settle the issue of the relationship of the regions to the centre. The release of Patrice Lumumba must take place first. The alternative to these reconciling steps would be civil war, the two



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, December 30

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 58 Archfield Road, Cotham. Win Peters at home to combined PPU group: Bristol Central PPU.

DONCASTER: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Goole.

LONDON, S.W.1: Assemble 11 a.m. Treasury, Whitehall. Poster parade to support deputation handing in Tax Refusal Declaration.

Saturday, December 31

GOOLE: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Hesselwood.

Sunday, January 1

HESSLEWOOD: YCND coast to coast march leaves for Hull. Details from 2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1.

Wednesday, January 4

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Victoria St. CND Special Council meeting for discussion on forthcoming activities. London Region CND.

Thursday, January 5

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Denys Player "Portuguese Notebook." E.10 and E.11 PPU.

Saturday, January 7

LONDON, S.W.1: 7 to 10.30 p.m. St. Saviour's Church Hall, St. George's Sq. New Year Social. Westminster CND.

Tuesday, January 10

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. Conway Hall,

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and are not fed"? Answer:
President Eisenhower.

Who said: "The world needs the constructive use of the large resources now devoted to armaments"? Answer: Mr. Macmillan.

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These unexpected utterances are recorded in a new and striking leaflet published by the British Fellowship of Reconciliation. "A Christian Challenge" is thrown out. Peace requires disarmament, disarmament releases resources, resources can relieve man's need. Love is the great commandment, peace is the will of God.

The casual reader will learn that he contributes towards the £4,000,000 a day spent by Great Britain on defence (each family contributes an average of £2 a week). Two pounds a week from one family would give 400 children a large glass of milk each day or treat five people for leprosy for three years.

The leaflet deserves a wide distribution.

Holborn. Debate: "Is World Government the Way Out?" Yes—Paul Winner; No—J. Allen Skinner. SPES.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Non-violence discussion group No. 4. Sheffield PPU.

Saturday, January 14

BIRMINGHAM: 3-8 p.m. B'ham Settlement, Summer Lane. West Midlands Area PPU annual party. All pacifists and sympathisers welcome. Adults 2s., children free.

Monday, January 16

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU.

Thursday, January 19

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Ted Redhead, MP: "Where Do We Go Now?" E.10 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, E.C.3: 12.15-1.15 p.m. Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. Peace Forum. Questions and Answers to Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906, Porchester PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

By Sybil Morrison

'Auld lang syne'

*Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to min'?*
*Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And auld lang syne?* Robert Burns.

THE majority of people who sing these words on New Year's Eve, or on other festive occasions, have very little idea what it means, and certainly never sing them as a question, but more as a kind of assertion. Yet those first four lines of Burns' immortal poem are, in fact, a question. Should we discard the past, or should we not, on the contrary, remember our own experiences and our old friends?

In England the word "syne," which only means "since," is usually pronounced as though the "s" were a "z," and the words are translated into "for the sake of auld lang syne," which in fact is not to be found in the poem. Nevertheless, in spite of the many translations into other languages since that day, so "lang syne" that it was written, there is still a nostalgia aroused by it which grips people's hearts the world over.

Even in this day and age when any talk of "old days" is looked upon as some kind of fault, when youth is considered to be the chief and almost the only sufferer from the threat of the H-bomb, these much misunderstood words are bawled out by people who have some sort of belief, apparently, about "seeing the New Year in."

It is, however, a song which does not look forward; it looks back; it remembers the past: "We twa hae run about the braes"; "we twa hae paidled in' the burn"; it is a song of remembrance, remembrance of simple pleasures, of childhood's joys, of happy, carefree roaming and of playtime. New Year "resolutions" and plans for the future have nothing whatever to do with Auld Lang Syne.

At that moment in time when the words are sung and when people clasp hands and wish each other well, it is perhaps, a valediction to the past, but it is certainly not a

NEW ACTION IN THE KIRK

CRISIS has been brewing in the Church of Scotland over nuclear defence.

Soon after the announcement that Polaris submarines were to be based at Holy Loch the crisis came to a head. St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, preached a passionate Remembrance Day sermon. He wanted an emergency meeting of the General Assembly to discuss the Bomb. This was pronounced impossible.

Then a large company of concerned and distinguished churchmen met in Dr. Whitley's house. There they thrashed out their declaration. It appeared in the national press on December 14.

"We differ," they say, "in our political affiliations . . . also in our understanding of our responsibility as Christians in face of the threat of nuclear war. But we are united in deep penitence for past failure; in the persuasion that we cannot rest content with the present paralysis of corporate Christian witness.

" . . . a fresh incentive is required from a nation sufficiently influential to make its action effective, and . . . our own nation is challenged to take that initiative. We therefore pledge ourselves to work for the first step in such an initiative, namely, the renunciation by this country of the 'independent nuclear deterrent.'

"Some of us would regard all this as being inadequate as a *Christian* witness; but all of us are agreed that nothing less than this could qualify to be so described. We are very far from being blind to the risks which are involved."

The letter is signed by Robert Barbour, William Barclay, Roderick Bethune, David Cairns, Nevile Davidson, Hugh O. Douglas, John L. Kent, Murdo Ewen Macdonald, George H. C. Macgregor, George F. MacLeod, Ian MacTaggart, Stuart W. McWilliam, J. Pitt-Watson, Robert F. V. Scott, W. A. Smellie, James S. Stewart, and H. C. Whitley.

COVERAGE

Front page coverage was given to this statement in the December 14 issue of *The Scotsman*, pointing out that the seventeen Churchmen include three former

Rev. Dr. Harry Whitley, Minister of out an official investigation among members of the Church of Scotland to determine their feelings on this matter. A report will then be made to the Commission of Assembly meeting in February.

But Church opinion in Scotland is not unanimous. In the second lunch-time talk in "The Gospel and the Bomb" series at St. Giles, the Right Rev. K. C. H. Warner, Bishop of the Episcopal Church Diocese of Edinburgh, declared himself against pacifism and unilateralism.

These attitudes might be justified, he thought, if ours was a totally Christian people offering themselves sacrificially. But this was not the situation. He could think of banning the Bomb only as a political proposal, and not by idealistic standards which claimed the authority of Christ.

Civil Defence 'a cruel hoax'

DERBYSHIRE County Councillor S. F. Collins recently claimed in a speech at Eckington that 90 per cent of the Labour Group on the County Council are personally opposed to expenditure on Civil Defence.

Under a statutory obligation, the Council promotes the work under protest from most of its members. "Civil Defence under nuclear warfare is a cruel hoax," he said.

In Poole, Dorset, John Score has again refused to pay the portion of his rates due for Civil Defence. He claims the reason he was not pressed to pay on the previous occasion was that the Poole Town Council "are afraid of further exposure of the Tory CD fraud." He described

Our souls are stainless

"AMONG the hostile forces to be reckoned with today," says the Archbishop of Canterbury, "is the rising prosperity of the country. To be smothered is a more real danger than to have hardly enough."



Have you noticed that it's always the well-to-do who think economic security is bad for you?

I once thought the question had been settled 700 years ago by another eminent cleric, who said: "Let none praise poverty but he who is poor."

But I see now that St. Bernard of Clairvaux, living amidst mediaeval squalor, couldn't have foreseen the dangers of the welfare state.

So nowadays, when even the lowest-paid workers can see their wages with the naked eye, our churches resound with sermons against the materialism of the masses, while parish magazines continually bewail the profligacy of the pampered proletariat.

One eminent Dean (Blue, not Red) recently said that the welfare state, "by making life smooth and comfortable and struggle unnecessary," was "sending us steadily downhill as a nation," and we shall "gradually lose our manhood."

He didn't mention our womanhood, but I presume that, what with child allowances and labour-saving kitchens, Jill will come tumbling after Jack.

These moralists regret the passing of the happy days when our industrial atmosphere was purified by what Wordsworth, sitting by a nice fire after a good lunch, called "The keen, the wholesome air of poverty"; when the lower orders were living on the soul-uplifting dole, and when what were at first mistaken for flying saucers turned out to be haloes over England.

But salvation is at hand. Thousands of people who had Never Had It So Good are finding that the economic basis of the Good is shaky.

And the Archbishop will be glad to hear that Peace News is in no danger of being smothered.

As far as the quality of their reading matter is concerned, our readers have cer-

misunderstanding words are bawled out by people who have some sort of belief, apparently, about "seeing the New Year in."

It is, however, a song which does not look forward; it looks back; it remembers the past: "We twa hae run about the braes"; "we two hae paidled in' the burn;" it is a song of remembrance, remembrance of simple pleasures, of childhood's joys, of happy, carefree roaming and of playtime. New Year "resolutions" and plans for the future have nothing whatever to do with Auld Lang Syne.

At that moment in time when the words are sung and when people clasp hands and wish each other well, it is perhaps, a valediction to the past, but it is certainly not a wish for the future. The calendar may say that on January 1 a new year begins, but Burns knew that there was nothing new in the whole world, and that everything derived, in fact, from the past; that experience belongs to the past and must depend upon what has gone before.

Unfortunately, no one person's experience is ever acceptable as a criterion for another; the lessons to be learned by experience are lessons only for each one of us out of our own experience, and out of our own ability to interpret and understand it.

It is knowledge and understanding that matters, not events. To be happy is one thing; to know that one is happy at the moment when happiness is there is quite another thing. All too often people appreciate that happiness has been their's only after it is gone, or lost. Few people seem to understand that what they have had in experience is an imperishable possession for all time, of which no one can ever rob them.

To grieve is an experience none of us can escape, but its domination can be cast off by some kind of interpretation and understanding. To look back and to regret is to be like Lot's wife, petrified and useless, but to look back and to understand, to look back and rejoice even though bereaved, is to possess all that is necessary for going forward.

Remembrance of past happiness and past joys, remembrance of sorrow and of tragic events is all part of the pattern of life as it has to be and as it is; and when we sing this song, it is good to remember that it is a song directed towards friendship, perhaps the loveliest of all relationship; for what is marriage without friendship? What is life itself, or any real human relationship, without it?

When next we sing Auld Lang Syne let us not forget the penultimate line of the chorus and of the last verse: "And we'll tak' a cup o' kindness yet," for it is friendship and kindness that is needed in the world today if peace is to be achieved.

We are very far from being blind to the risks which are involved. . ."

The letter is signed by Robert Barbour, William Barclay, Roderick Bethune, David Cairns, Neville Davidson, Hugh O. Douglas, John L. Kent, Murdo Ewen Macdonald, George H. C. Macgregor, George F. MacLeod, Ian MacTaggart, Stuart W. McWilliam, J. Pitt-Watson, Robert F. V. Scott, W. A. Smellie, James S. Stewart, and H. C. Whitley.

COVERAGE

Front page coverage was given to this statement in the December 14 issue of *The Scotsman*, pointing out that the seventeen Churchmen include three former Moderators of the General Assembly, and Professors from the Divinity faculties at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen Universities.

Professor Pitt-Watson is reported as commenting: "There is a much greater awareness of the increasing dangers of the situation in which we now stand, and men who are not Christian pacifists are still conscious that they have a very serious responsibility in the light of their Christian Faith."

Professor Pitt-Watson had successfully defended the H-bomb in the General Assembly Debate of 1954.

The 17 Churchmen hoped for sufficient support to be able to submit a motion to the next General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May, 1961, and indeed on the very day of the publication of the letter the Church and Nation Committee, meeting in Edinburgh, decided to ask its International Interests Sub-committee to carry

BISHOP CHALLENGED

SIR RICHARD ACLAND, speaking in Exeter on December 9, invited the Bishop of Exeter to defend in detail a view put forward in a diocesan leaflet, or to correct the impression it made.

The Bishop had asserted in the leaflet that God might use human wickedness to end human history "just as He used human wickedness as His instrument for man's redemption."

The *Western Morning News* reports Sir Richard as saying: "... it is contrary to the whole spirit of the New Testament to suppose, even hypothetically, that the Father of Jesus Christ 'has determined' that man shall end in nuclear holocaust."

speech at Eberington that 90 per cent of the Labour Group on the County Council are personally opposed to expenditure on Civil Defence.

Under a statutory obligation, the Council promotes the work under protest from most of its members. "Civil Defence under nuclear warfare is a cruel hoax," he said.

In Poole, Dorset, John Score has again refused to pay the portion of his rates due for Civil Defence. He claims the reason he was not pressed to pay on the previous occasion was that the Poole Town Council "are afraid of further exposure of the Tory CD fraud." He described CD teaching to a *Dorset Herald* reporter as "pitiful nonsense calculated to reassure an uninformed and misled public."

In Tunbridge Wells, Roger Holman has been told that the 2s. 9d. he withheld from his rates will be carried forward to the next half year. No action would be taken at present.

Mr. Holman has also sent to the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign the sum he declined to pay as income tax, and has told the Inspector of Taxes of his decision.

Something new out of Africa

A REMARKABLE London programme for the Christmas holiday has been planned by the Council for Education in World Citizenship (a UNA organisation) with the citizens of tomorrow in mind.

Discussion groups, which will divide into sub-groups, and then merge into a full conference meeting, will listen to speakers including the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Noni Jabavu, Laura Grimond, Max Gluckman, K. A. Busia, the Tunisian Ambassador, the High Commissioner for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Hannah Stanton, Joshua Nkomo, and Colin Legum.

They will listen to African music and watch all kinds of folk dancing, besides treading more familiar dance measures at St. Pancras Town Hall.

"Something New out of Africa" takes place at the Central Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, from January 3 to January 6.

happy days when our industrial atmosphere was purified by what Wordsworth, sitting by a nice fire after a good lunch, called "The keen, the wholesome air of poverty"; when the lower orders were living on the soul-uplifting dole, and when what were at first mistaken for flying saucers turned out to be haloes over England.

But salvation is at hand. Thousands of people who had Never Had It So Good are finding that the economic basis of the Good is shaky.

And the Archbishop will be glad to hear that Peace News is in no danger of being smothered.

As far as the quality of their reading matter is concerned, our readers have certainly never had it so good. But the economic basis of its goodness is shaky.

B. J. BOOTHROYD

Contributions since Dec. 16 : £88 12s. 9d.
Total since Feb. 1 : £1,444 17s. 8d.

Still needed : £1,055.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged : Worksoop 10s., W.D.C. 10s., London, N.W.1 5s., and Amersham 1s.

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TWO years, not one, are now drawing to a close. They have co-existed and will go down in history as 1960, but in fact they were the records of radically different approaches to the central problems of our time.

The first 1960 was the "official" one. It was the world of statesmen and diplomats, power politics and manoeuvre, threat and bluff, foreign domination and spheres of influence. It was, that is to say, the orthodox, hypocritical, conventional, blasphemous, "realistic" world at its worst.

It was marked in the vanguard by the Polaris submarine and in the rearguard by desperate last-ditch moves for White supremacy. It included the development of French nuclear weapons and brought the world to the brink of the next spread of the Bomb. It included the summit fiasco in Paris, the meaningless election in the United States, and the continued domination of Hungary and Angola. When this sort of world talks about peace it means pacification, Algerian style, or threat, Khrushchev-Allen Dulles style.

Personal action

The other 1960 has brought an unprecedented development of personal action for liberation, to the extent that it has

down discrimination was as effective as it was dramatic.

In Britain it has been the campaigners for nuclear disarmament who, almost unaided, have pushed the Bomb into the centre of orthodox politics.

In France, too, there have been the first signs that the conscience of the nation is profoundly disturbed over Algeria. There have been significant demonstrations by people willing to be arrested and jailed, and intellectuals have begun to take personal responsibility by speaking out unequivocally.

Throughout the world there has been an extraordinary realisation of the agony of South Africa, and this has led to international action on an increasing scale. The aiding from overseas of victims of apartheid and the development of the boycott—by peoples, industrial workers or governments—has profound implications for the creation of a world non-violent strategy against domination.

Rebellious students

It has also been the year of rebellious students, not only in the Deep South, but also in Japan, in Korea and elsewhere. We shall be looking at them again in a minute.

Is this a fair contrast of the two 1960s? Is it not overdrawn? Was it really as black and white as that? We should be careful not to overstate the case, but it is salutary to study the greatest achievements of the "official" world in the past 12 months. For a start one has to think

THE TWO 1960s

These two pictures illustrate the other year now ending—the year in which personal action located the real political issues. Left, a Negro student sit-in protest against racial discrimination at Deep South lunch counters. Right, two South-East London campaigners for nuclear disarmament.



Photo: Will Green

athlete in the gold medal class, still produces no treaty?

The fact that the delegates will be continuing their bargaining in 1961 is a small recognition by the Great Powers that public opinion has been moving on nuclear tests, and there has got to be some sort of contact between the major antagonists. That is the measure of the greatest achievement of "realistic" politics—harassed by public opinion—in 1960.

To take another achievement from the official world, the African nations that have been coming to political freedom one after the other recently are all too often treading the road of their former masters: suppression, intolerance and militarism. There is also the dilemma for all workers for colonial freedom that the emerging nation states are an anachronism in the second half of this century; what is wanted is not the proliferation of national sovereignty but its voluntary surrender.

The outstanding facts of 1960, however, were not the obvious failures thrust upon us daily by the headlines, nor the limited "successes" of conventional politics, but the concrete achievements of the same

demonstrations that altered the whole balance of politics. Some of the protests, however, were disastrous. They had great potential because the first essential for mass action—a collective passion about right and wrong—was there. What was lacking in leadership and strategy, however, has to be made up, and here again there is work awaiting those prepared to try new ways.

As 1960 disappears, however, the contrast of the "two" years must remain. Perhaps it comes most easily from the United States. At the time of the Presidential election, a well-known "respectable" newspaper half way round the

NEW

POLITICS

by

supremacy. It included the development of French nuclear weapons and brought the world to the brink of the next spread of the Bomb. It included the summit fiasco in Paris, the meaningless election in the United States, and the continued domination of Hungary and Angola. When this sort of world talks about peace it means pacification, Algerian style, or threat, Khrushchev-Allen Dulles style.

Personal action

The other 1960 has brought an unprecedented development of personal action for liberation, to the extent that it has been able to dictate what are to be the political issues and on what basis they are to be debated.

In the United States this has meant the sit-in movement of the Negro students, whose non-violent direct action to break

or governments—has profound implications for the creation of a world non-violent strategy against domination.

Rebellious students

It has also been the year of rebellious students, not only in the Deep South, but also in Japan, in Korea and elsewhere. We shall be looking at them again in a minute.

Is this a fair contrast of the two 1960s? Is it not overdrawn? Was it really as black and white as that? We should be careful not to overstate the case, but it is salutary to study the greatest achievements of the "official" world in the past 12 months. For a start one has to think what the devil they were!

In the field of weaponry it was undoubtedly the Geneva conference on nuclear tests. But what sort of achievement was that? What sort of triumph is it when a years-long conference, which makes a snail an

to take another achievement from the official world, the African nations that have been coming to political freedom one after the other recently are all too often treading the road of their former masters: suppression, intolerance and militarism. There is also the dilemma for all workers for colonial freedom that the emerging nation states are an anachronism in the second half of this century; what is wanted is not the proliferation of national sovereignty but its voluntary surrender.

The outstanding facts of 1960, however, were not the obvious failures thrust upon us daily by the headlines, nor the limited "successes" of conventional politics, but the concrete achievements of the same unorthodox methods which only a short while ago were laughed off. But there is more to this than mere encouragement, important as that is.

No accident

None of the achievements of personal involvement and direct action have occurred by accident. They have been pioneered, worked for over many years, developed by "cranks." And then one day their time has come, and the vital element of mass support has carried them to goals undreamed of by their architects.

Take the case of the sit-ins in the United States. This is no new technique. It has been developed with patience over years by the Congress of Racial Equality. When the time came for the South to move the technique was there, the experience was ready to be borrowed, key personnel were available for advice and the development of theory.

New techniques

There is no clearer example of the reward of honest hard work at an early stage. One campaigner one year is worth a score later. The lesson of this is obvious enough. A major task in 1961 will be seeking out the new fields of action for development, initiating new techniques and strategy for the maintenance and enlargement of the areas of human freedom.

We can learn from our failures also, and it is here that we recall that not all student demonstrations have been as successful as those of the Southern Negroes. In Japan, and especially in Korea, we had reports earlier this year of magnificent

United States. At the time of the Presidential election, a well-known "respectable" newspaper half way round the

NEW

POLITICS

by

Christopher

Farley

An end-of-the-year word from *Peace News*

THE editor and staff of *Peace News* wish to thank all those who have sent them Christmas greetings and messages of encouragement for the New Year. These were still pouring into our offices from around the world as we went to press.

Perhaps this is also the appropriate moment, as yet another year slips past, to try to express our thanks to hundreds of our active supporters whose help might otherwise have gone unacknowledged.

We have in mind particularly those, at home or abroad, famous or humble, of varying faiths or none, of all colours, persuasions and beliefs, who are devoting their various talents to the promotion, sale and distribution of our paper and the extension of our work.

Of especial importance are those who unstintingly give us time and money that all too often they cannot afford. There has been a splendid initial response to the Christmas appeal sent out

on our behalf by Philip Eastman. He asks us to remind readers that New Year gifts will be equally welcome. We depend on a total of £2,500 in the *Peace News* Fund if the year's publishing deficit is to be met by the end of our financial year on January 31.

We are thinking, too, of our readers who never fail to send us valuable press cuttings, news stories, photographs, information, advice and criticism. It is only the pressure of sheer hard work that sometimes prevents us from acknowledging with real appreciation all of this material.

Our bookshop — Housmans — and Endsleigh Cards, our Christmas card subsidiary, go from strength to strength each year, and to all those who further their work we are indebted.

This is the first Christmas for some time that not a single member of our staff has been in jail. We are all set for the most vigorous and rewarding year for a very long time. We hope you will stay the hectic course with us.

world, sent a reporter to the local US Air Force base:

"Only about half of those eligible had voted (mostly it seems for Nixon) and a staff sergeant said: 'I guess they didn't care too much either way. Why should they?' He himself had voted for Nixon and was not worried by his defeat. 'As long as Kennedy is tough enough with the Russians,' he said, 'it's all right with me.'"

"A search by the commanding officer's ADC had failed to find any officers who had anything to say on the matter. He said that this was mostly because the authorities strongly discouraged discussions about race, religion, or politics.

"Many votes were apparently cast in the belief that the Republicans were more determined than the Democrats 'to stamp out communism' or, as one man put it, 'fix that White nigger Khrushchev.'"

To the jails

Contrast this with the words of Marzette Watts, expelled student from Alabama State College:

"We have made up our minds to be free—if the road to freedom leads through the jail houses of the South, to the jails we shall go."

It is our job to make this contrast ever wider in the New Year.

THE YEAR OF THE POLARIS

—it overshadowed even Africa

THE year 1960 has brought many happenings which, had they occurred in the first half of the century, would have had to be regarded as of surpassing importance. Crucial as they would have seemed in any other circumstances, however, in any realistic assessment of the trend of events today they have to take second place to an examination of our present position in relation to the growing threat to the future of mankind upon this planet.

I have no doubt that in the newspaper reviews generally the development of nuclear weapons and the means for their discharge will rank as happenings to be given a place somewhat subordinate to happenings of such gravity as the Sharpeville massacre, the Monckton Report, the developments in Algeria, the disaster in the Congo, and in some cases even to such relatively minor matters as the revision of the retirement pensions arrangements.

This is because there is a widely shared disposition to shut out of our consciousness today's reality of major importance; and politicians, preachers and journalists all co-operate in turning the public mind away from it.

The year that is closing is chiefly notable for the giddy pace at which mankind is moving towards the growing probability of a common destruction. The fact that each of the two leading Powers had a sufficient supply of nuclear explosive to destroy the whole human race several times over was often thought to provide an ultimate deterrent which would prevent war. This theory was dependent on the assumption that the mutual threat of common destruction would paralyse the will of the Powers to pursue the arms race to increasingly dangerous lengths and thus substitute a growing precariousness for the assumed stability of terror.

Competition

This has not happened. The competition has been transferred to the "means of delivery"—surer and more rapid means of projecting death to millions upon millions of people—and advances in this terrible field of discovery and invention are being made with accelerating velocity.

The year opened with France establishing its claim to be the "fourth nuclear

before it was completed. It was therefore decided to abandon it in favour of a possible later acquisition of "Polaris" missiles through the grace and favour of the USA. This abandonment of the Blue Streak project had to take place despite the fact that commitments for an expenditure of £100,000,000 had been entered upon.

It may be noted, as a measure of the destruction of the possibility of good involved in the creation of weapons of terror, that the money expended on this abortive effort alone would have been more than enough to have floated the similarly abortive "Sunfed" in its proposed work of helping to lift the peoples of the world who are living in poverty out of their present destitution. It represented more than the total of the first year contributions asked from all the nations of UN and to which neither Britain nor the USA can afford to subscribe.

The abandonment of Blue Streak seemed to Mr. George Brown, the Labour "defence" spokesman, to present a possible opportunity of smothering the vital disagreement on policy existing in the Labour

Party in face of the existence of H-bombs. If the Labour Party, he calculated, having like the Tory Party to face the abandonment of Blue Streak, and an "independent deterrent," could associate this with a general suggestion that the British Government would abandon all aspiration to the possession of nuclear weapons as its own property, and merely rely on the US possession of these things, it might be possible to reduce the whole discussion that was exercising the Labour Party and producing the Aldermaston Marches to the level of technical considerations of weapons development—"the details of weapons systems"—and thus avoid a too painful confrontation of the realities of the question at issue. The Labour Party would then find itself endorsing the kind of military policy already advocated by the Liberal Party and there was reason to expect that the Tory Party would have to

ment of NATO as a separate entity with nuclear arms. On the control of these arms the Parliamentary Ministers give confident sounding assurances with a complete absence of detail.

This is an inevitable combination, for it would clearly be impossible to give detail and convey the impression of confidence. If 15 Governments are to commit themselves to association in the operation of these weapons of mass destruction there is the obvious alternative that cannot be evaded: either those charged with command of the weapons will act on their own responsibility when in their view the situation requires it, and in that case there will be no consultation of the representatives of the 15 Governments; or the representatives of the 15 Governments will be consulted, in which case there can be no action without the kind of delay that the militarist regards as fatal.

numbers of these are to become available in 1961. Each can move at great depths and at great speed, and each will carry 16 missiles, every one of which will have more than 50 times the destructive power of the Bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

It is impossible in such a survey as this to discuss the increased dangers of an outbreak of nuclear war that these things will bring, but they add enormously to the sparking-off possibilities that may lead to the conflict of general destruction. Britain is to provide accommodation for a number of these things at Holy Loch on the Clyde. (If this could be renamed Unholy Loch it would equal Foulness in the appositeness of its name.)

There are particular technical difficulties in regard to the Polaris weapons in reconciling political control with speed of action; but these difficulties are much less than those presented by the proposals that the year-end has brought for the equip-

ment of NATO as a separate entity with nuclear arms. On the control of these arms the Parliamentary Ministers give confident sounding assurances with a complete absence of detail.

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the factor of the new African states had not been present.

Darkest Africa today is in the South and the North. The Sharpeville massacre has brought home to those who might have had any illusions about it the true character of White domination in South Africa. The Bishop of Johannesburg's recent book has made it apparent that what happened at Sharpeville was just plain murder, and Dr. Verwoerd's pronouncement that the police had done a good job there marks him as accessory in chief in murder after if not before the fact.

As the year reaches its end a completely new situation arises in Algeria. Giving the lie to the spurious demonstrations that took place in 1958 under the pressures and cajolments of the army, the Algerian population has now demonstrated in defiance of the wishes of the "colons" and their army backers. The new year will open with General de Gaulle's plebiscite in one form or another, but it has now become evident that the outcome will not be as set forth in his paper plan.

There is apparently a turbulent period ahead for Algeria and probably for France also. A good deal is going to crumble, including in all probability the present governmental régime. It is to be hoped that such vestiges of democracy as remain will not be lost in the turmoil.

The discussions on Central Africa at Lancaster House, interrupted now after much liveliness, have a certain similarity in character with the manoeuvrings we have seen to be taking place in Labour Party discussions. In the Labour Party the endeavour among the leadership is to submerge the biggest issue of the day under the mystification of an accommodating agreement about weaponry.

Federation

In the discussions on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland there is a persistent endeavour to shroud the prior question of the right to self-determination by a brazen concentration on the possibility of developing benefits out of Federation. The Monckton Report, which could hardly be set aside by the Government as it has been made public, is a clear statement of the

mutual threat of common destruction could paralyse the will of the Powers to pursue the arms race to increasingly dangerous lengths and thus substitute a growing precariousness for the assumed stability of terror.

Competition

This has not happened. The competition has been transferred to the "means of delivery"—surer and more rapid means of projecting death to millions upon millions of people—and advances in this terrible field of discovery and invention are being made with accelerating velocity.

The year opened with France establishing its claim to be the "fourth nuclear Power" by its two nuclear explosions in the Sahara. This has added nothing, of course, to any "deterrent" power that the existence of the H-bomb in the hands of America and Russia may have, any more than does the possession of the H-bomb by Britain.

It has merely enabled General de Gaulle's Government to feel something of the comfort that the late Aneurin Bevan perceived in the possession of the H-bomb: the representative of France also will not "go naked into the council chamber." France also will have its power of indiscriminate destruction with which to threaten.

Summit hopes

Such hopes as were based upon a "summit" meeting of the Heads of State were doomed to disappointment, neither the USA nor the Russian Government holding that there was any point in making any sacrifice to bring such a meeting to fruition.

That such a meeting, if it had taken place, would have produced anything of significance is highly improbable; for although the "summit" meeting did not go forward, the ten Power Disarmament Committee—including, of course, representatives of the "summit" Powers—met in Geneva in March and conferred, with some intervals, for about eight months without producing the slightest agreement of any kind.

In May the British Conservative Government faced the fact that advances in the construction of new and deadlier weapons had outpaced its programme. The "Blue Streak" missile, which was to have given Britain material independence of the USA as an H-bomb Power, had become outdated

deterrent," could associate this with a general suggestion that the British Government would abandon all aspiration to the possession of nuclear weapons as its own property, and merely rely on the US possession of these things, it might be possible to reduce the whole discussion that was exercising the Labour Party and producing the Aldermaston Marches to the level of technical considerations of weapons development—"the details of weapons systems"—and thus avoid a too painful confrontation of the realities of the question at issue. The Labour Party would then find itself endorsing the kind of military policy already advocated by the Liberal Party and there was reason to expect that the Tory Party would have to come to in the future.

Scarborough

Here the Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Mr. Gaitskell, proved rather unaccommodating, with the consequence that this covering-up procedure could not be sufficiently skilfully handled at the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party. Here one of the few hopeful developments of 1960 occurred: the Conference rejected the proposed alignment with the moral evasiveness that today passes for Liberalism, and declared for the unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb by Britain.

This decision has for the first time brought the H-bomb question effectively into British politics. The opening months of 1961 may decide whether it is to be kept there or permitted to sink out of sight again. Whether this matter is to be treated as the paramount question that it is will depend upon the moral quality of the unilateralists, pacifists and others. We have yet to learn whether they can regard Party unity as a principle that has superior claims to moral conviction.

In this respect the year came to an end with a very hopeful sign, for 70 MPs, in a position of considerable procedural difficulty, demonstrated their adherence to the Scarborough decisions by abstaining from voting in rejection of the whip to marshal them behind a Parliamentary Party resolution that sought to ignore Scarborough.

While these things have been taking place there have been two developments to underline the urgency of the matter under discussion—and to emphasise the chicanery involved in seeking to treat this issue as a technical dispute about the details of weapons systems. The Polaris submarine is now in full production and

absence of detail.

This is an inevitable combination, for it would clearly be impossible to give detail and convey the impression of confidence. If 15 Governments are to commit themselves to association in the operation of these weapons of mass destruction there is the obvious alternative that cannot be evaded: either those charged with command of the weapons will act on their own responsibility when in their view the situation requires it, and in that case there will be no consultation of the representatives of the 15 Governments, or the representatives of the 15 Governments will be consulted, in which case there can be no action without the kind of delay that the militarist regards as fatal.

If one turns one's mind away from this great threat that frowns ever more loweringly over the world, the great developments in 1960 have, of course, occurred in Africa. The wind of change has been blowing with a vengeance, bringing with it destruction as well as hope.

The outstanding hope to be seen in Africa is the growing sense of confident neutralism that is developing in the newly independent African states. Including those that have reached independence within the French Community these have brought the number of nations now represented at the United Nations to 99 (the number would have been 100 had not Russia put up a bargaining barrier against the admission of Mauritania). The time is now past when either Russia or the USA can look for the provision of an automatic majority from their respective satellite states.

Pan-Africanism

Although we have yet to see how far "pan-Africanism" is practicable or desirable, the newly enfranchised African peoples have shown that they cannot be used as the pawns of either of the two Power blocs, and their capacity to confront the problems that arise in the UN from a standpoint that is morally superior to the power calculations that direct the alignment of the nations of the two blocs already promises to be an influence for good in the world.

The terrible Congo tragedy, largely brought about through Belgian avarice and irresponsibility, has so far proved intractable of solution, and it has presented problems to the newly-independent African neighbours that have yet to be solved. Dark as has been the outlook here, however, it is clear that a situation a great deal worse could have been provoked if

much liveliness, have a certain similarity in character with the manoeuvrings we have seen to be taking place in Labour Party discussions. In the Labour Party the endeavour among the leadership is to submerge the biggest issue of the day under the mystification of an accommodating agreement about weaponry.

Federation

In the discussions on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland there is a persistent endeavour to shroud the prior question of the right to self-determination by a brazen concentration on the possibility of developing benefits out of Federation. The Monckton Report, which could hardly be set aside by the Government as it had set aside the Devlin Report, did not confront this as a primary issue, although it sought to provide reasonable conditions for a test of the desirability of continuance of federation after a period of five years, in which there would be a possibility of the Rhodesias adapting their régimes towards progress to a democratic future.

It has been apparent all along, however, that the Southern Rhodesian Government will not be prepared to accept these conditions, and whether Dr. Banda had been awkward or not in his gestures at the conferences, it is very apparent that in insisting on the right of Nyasaland to secede from the Federation at the outset he is on absolutely sound grounds. A useful federation could only be built upon the democratic decisions in favour of association by the peoples concerned.

It now seems clear that although the progress to democratic self-government for the Northern Rhodesian population, and certainly for the Southern Rhodesian population, may be on different lines, the way forward for the people of Nyasaland will not be under the direction of Sir Roy Welensky.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S SLAVE RACKET

Hammariskoeld must investigate

By Keith L. Lye

UNLESS one is a sadist, there is a limit to the amount of horror one can endure. Any healthy person is soon numbed by catalogues of atrocities. It is so much easier to turn the page.

Mr. Hammariskoeld is now faced with this problem. He is due to visit South Africa in the New Year on behalf of the United Nations, and he has been sent some homework in advance. This consists of pages and pages of authentic documentary evidence, describing in terrifying detail the slave labour conditions on the farms—one manifestation of *apartheid*.

It does not make bedside reading. He will read of arbitrary arrest, of detention without trial, of broken homes, of brutality which will turn his stomach, of the neglect and indifference of officials, and also of sadistic murder.

Among many cases he will read of how Rachel Lewane returned home in October, 1958, to find that her husband Tugane had disappeared. She went to the police station and to the local jail in Johannesburg but they did not help. She visited the General Hospital to find if he had been in an accident, but there was no record. Her nightmare search went on and on until she came to the conclusion that her husband was either dead or had completely disappeared.

On April 14, 1959, Mrs. Lewane had a visitor. He told her a dreadful story. He was an African from Southern Rhodesia who had been working in Johannesburg since 1947. In December, 1958, he was arrested at a bus stop in Sophiatown because he could not produce his pass, the symbol of his inferior status. That night he spent in prison.

The following morning he was told he must produce the money for his ticket back to Rhodesia. He explained that his money was in a Post Office Savings account. This was ignored and he was told that if he had no money he must do farm work. A few days later he was driven out in a locked van and taken to the Nigel Farm Labour Bureau.

The officials told him again that if he

had no money for his fare he would be sold to a farmer. His reply about his savings account was again ignored and that same day he was delivered to a local farmer.

His first day in the fields began. With the farmer as a spectator, he was approached by two boss boys (foremen) who asked him for money. He told them he had none and so he was beaten. Two other newcomers had the same treatment. He was warned not to retaliate. His fellow workers told him that a month earlier a man had been killed as a result of a beating.

BRUTAL ASSAULTS

He told Rachel Lewane of the filthy conditions in which they were forced to live; how they could only get a drink twice a day; how there was no water left for washing; how they slept in cramped conditions on a concrete floor; how they were underfed, and how the brutal assaults by the boss boys continued.

His thoughts were of escape and he discussed it with Tugane, a fellow worker. Tugane had been beaten so much that he was crippled. Escape was impossible for him but he told his friend that if he got

away he should see Mrs. Lewane, his wife, to tell her of his plight.

Armed with this knowledge Mrs. Lewane went to a lawyer and insisted that her husband was being forced to work as a farm labourer against his will. She told the lawyer that her visitor had worked for four months on the farm and was not paid a penny. He had said that he had never seen any worker being paid anything.

The lawyer set to work and the scandal of the farm was revealed in the courts. Tugane returned home to his wife and the nightmare came to an end.

Tugane and Rachel Lewane were reunited, but what about the others still missing or dead? Charles Millard of the ICFTU went on an official visit to the Union in 1959 and his report in August of that year noted that some 500,000 arrests were made annually for pass offences.

"What happens next would be illegal in almost any country, and recent court decisions seem to show that it is illegal in the Union too—yet it has been going on for years with the full connivance and indeed encouragement of the Nationalist Government. The African is told that if he volunteers to work on the land the proceedings against him will be dropped."

After describing the farm labour system, he asked: "Was forced labour ever more blatant?"

Following the Millard Report and the few odd cases which reached the courts an enquiry was ordered by the Minister of Bantu Administration. As a result it was

understood that the system was suspended. But what has happened?

Reports from the Union suggest that the system continues. An article in the South African *Sunday Times* on June 16 of this year states that Africans who were not political detainees were mysteriously disappearing. It was believed that they were being sent to labour camps.

On August 9 *The Guardian* referred to an estimated 8,000 Africans who had been arrested under emergency regulations as "idlers." Their relatives and friends were having great difficulties in ascertaining their whereabouts.

MANY HORRORS

The smokescreen which the architects of *apartheid* have thrown up conceals many horrors. It is now up to Mr. Hammariskoeld to see through it. This month the International Commission of Jurists stated that the pass law system resulted in "flagrant abuses of law involving arbitrary arrest and detention." It had created a situation "of which certain aspects can only be described as legalised slavery."

Mr. Hammariskoeld has a grave responsibility. He must test the accuracy of these allegations for himself and if he is satisfied of their truth, the UN must be rallied into a massive drive against *apartheid*.

Because of the risk of victimisation Peace News has not published the real names of the Africans mentioned in this report—though they are known to us.

Letter from Egypt—II

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD

By Irene Beeson

"ISRAEL? A cancer in the heart of the Arab world, which must disappear if real peace is to come."

These were the words of an Egyptian Government official, but they reflect the state of mind of every Arab, whether he is Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi or North African, when asked about Israel, and about chances of a peaceful settlement of what

a "greater Israel" that extends from the Tigris to the Euphrates.

Such expansion can only be at Arab expense. And with the growth of population, Israel must export to live. Her natural markets are not the Western countries; they are in the Mediterranean

Eastern powder train alight. The UAR bitterly points to what it says is collusion between Israel and King Hussein.

It is interesting to talk to Egyptian Jews, of whom about 10,000 live here, now. They seem, also, to feel uncomfortable about the Zionist state.

"We love Egypt. It is our home. But Israel causes us to live in fear," a mem-

who had been working in Johannesburg since 1947. In December, 1958, he was arrested at a bus stop in Sophiatown because he could not produce his pass, the symbol of his inferior status. That night he spent in prison.

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Unanimity about the need for Israel to disappear as a national entity is not expressed only in the pronouncements of President Gamal Abdel Nasser and his subordinates. It is deeply rooted in the people. The most modest *fellah*, the bourgeois, the student, the factory worker, the schoolteacher, all will tell you the same thing.

Because of the inescapable fact that in 1948, before the first Palestine war, the State of Israel expelled nearly one million Arabs from their homes, neither the Palestinians nor the Arabs in other countries can now envisage ever coming to terms with the Zionists.

Shared view

The Copts, Egypt's large minority of Christian Arabs, seem to share this view with the Muslims and the Syrian Christians in the United Arab Republic's northern region.

Even assuming for a moment the remote possibility that the Arab states were to give some sort of *de facto* recognition to Israel's existence—as Muslim Iran, or at least the Shah's Government has done—the dual problem of Israeli immigration and expansion would present itself.

David Ben Gurion's Government hopes to use the waters of the River Jordan to irrigate hundreds of square miles of the Negev desert, so that Israel may accommodate at least one million more Jewish immigrants.

Israel is already overcrowded. Millions are living at close quarters in the great, sprawling cities of Haifa, Tel-Aviv and the Israeli sector of Jerusalem. Extremist parties in Israel maintain their demands—demands that are bound to grow more as immigration increases—for

By Irene Beeson

a "greater Israel" that extends from the Tigris to the Euphrates. Such expansion can only be at Arab expense. And with the growth of population, Israel must export to live. Her natural markets are not the Western countries: they are in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Her oranges and many of her other products compete with those of her Arab neighbours and would, in many cases, if natural economic laws were permitted to operate, flood the Middle Eastern markets.

U.S. pressure?

President-elect John Kennedy's campaign promises of more American aid to Israel and his inference that he would bring economic pressure to bear on the UAR to relax her blockade of the Suez Canal, have not helped matters. They have raised concern among the Arabs, who will remember Britain's Balfour Declaration, and all the sorry record of Western equivocation which they hold largely responsible for the present troubles in the Middle East.

Nor is there great hope that a solution can come from the United Nations. Neither Israel nor the UAR has complied with two Security Council resolutions: that the UAR lift the Suez blockade, and that Israel allow the Arab refugees freely to choose between return to their homes or compensation for their lost livelihoods and ruined lives.

'Never again'

Thus there seems little prospect for Arab-Israeli negotiations, which some Israelis would welcome, but to which Arabs feel they can never agree.

During my last six weeks in Egypt I gained the impression that Egyptians long for peace. "Never again must there be a Suez," they say. "We want to be friends with Britain, America, Russia, all the world."

But there is danger that the unstable situation in Jordan, where influences outside the Arab world are at work, might provide the spark that would set the Middle

Eastern powder train alight. The UAR bitterly points to what it says is collusion between Israel and King Hussein.

It is interesting to talk to Egyptian Jews, of whom about 10,000 live here, now. They seem, also, to feel uncomfortable about the Zionist state.

"We love Egypt. It is our home. But Israel causes us to live in fear," a member of the Jewish Community in Cairo told me. "If major trouble with Israel comes again we shall of course suffer, even though we do not support Zionism. This problem hangs over our heads like the Sword of Damocles."

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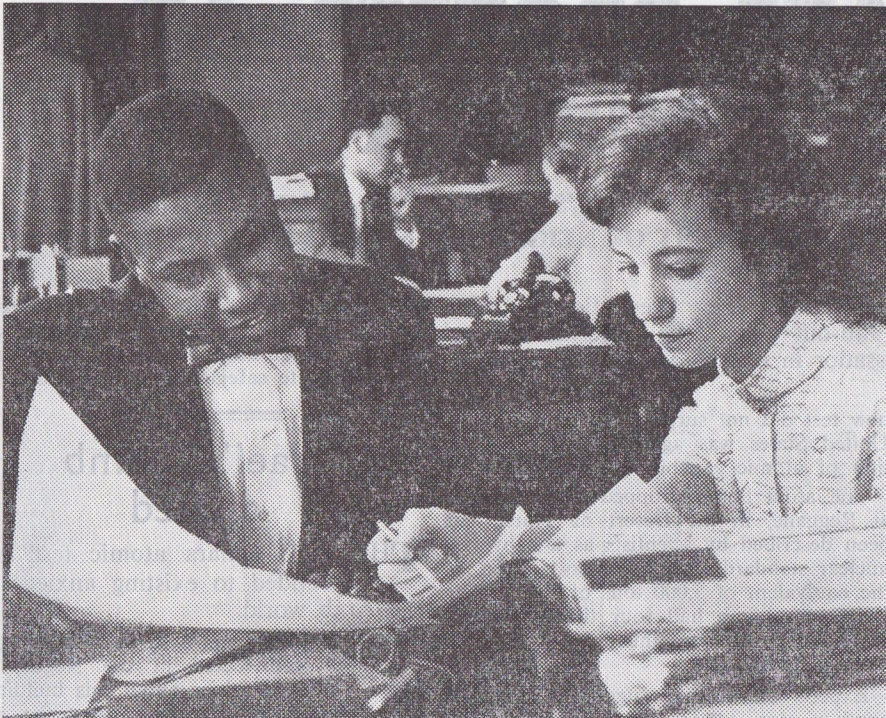
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- they are people, and
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★

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No discrimination because of race, religion or creed, but

EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT

A time for action everywhere

PACIFISTS IN THE USA are concerned not only with providing leadership for the sit-ins in the Deep South which are ending the colour bar at eating places. In the North they are working at what in some ways can be a more difficult problem, ending race discrimination in industry and the professions.

Since 1946 they have pushed forward a nation-wide campaign to ensure that people are employed on merit and that no one is debarred from work because of race, religion or national origin.

The photos on this page are just a few of those which have been used on leaflets and brochures sent to thousands of employers in the USA by the American Friends Service Committee, the Quaker peace education body.

Over in column one is a part of the argument they have used in a leaflet widely distributed in Chicago, arguments which are valid in every country where discrimination is practised.



TOP: Walter E. Brewster, assistant to instalment loan supervisor at Main State Bank, Chicago, goes over a report with Geraldine Farrell, general clerk.
CENTRE: Shyrlee Dallard, shareholder records secretary with the Scott Paper Co. of Chester, Pa., with Legal Department executive, Valentine Fine.
BOTTOM: Susie Akinaga is cashier at a Chicago bank. Chicago photos courtesy of Idaka.

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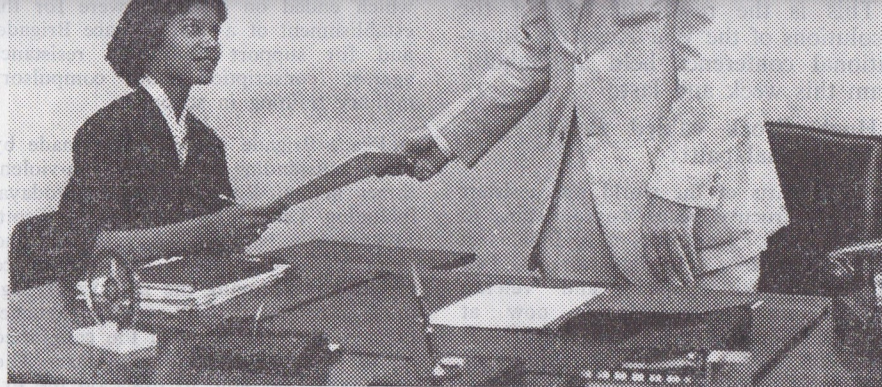
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of human resources—thus makes a better community for everyone. The waste involved—when men blindly refuse to put all the best talents of the community to work in offices, factories and professions—can be measured in wasted money, in lack of efficiency and achievement, and clearly in damage to the personalities both of those discriminating and of those discriminated against.

There is, in fact, no insurmountable problem for any company, yours included, to start an employment-on-merit-programme—and start it now.

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There are the old excuses, now becoming slightly shopworn and more hollow as the experience of other companies refutes them:

My present employees will not accept people of other races, religions, or national origins as co-workers;

My customers will not accept them—I will lose business if I employ them;

The neighbourhood is not ready for it;

Let some other firm do it first—we'll try it if it works for them.

Yet these excuses are no longer valid, even as excuses.

Leaders in the business community have already done your pioneering for you.

Your community and your customers are already familiar with employment-on-merit and are ready for you to adopt it.

And we feel sure that a majority of your present employees are ready to accept merit employment. We often tend



to underestimate the appeal of religious and democratic principles and the willingness of most people to recognise them. The time for action is now. Time for a change of heart. Time for a change of mind. Time to stand up and be counted. The actual decision involved is very simple. All it takes is for management to say:

"We believe in people. We believe in the right of people to work at any task for which they are qualified. We need

new, skilled and talented people for the healthy growth of our business. And we need to keep ourselves in step with the community and the businesses that look to us for leadership. Therefore, employment-on-merit is a policy of this company."

You can reap the advantages and benefits of merit employment for your company by making this decision. The place to make it is in your own conscience. And the time to make it is now.



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Plans for Aldermaston

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has announced several dates for the near future.

On February 11 all Middlesex groups will be holding a large march on the Ruislip USAF base, at which Sir Richard Acland will be the main speaker.

The Region's AGM is the following day at Caxton Hall, S.W.1. There will also be a St. Valentine's social and dance there on February 14. The Region's Spring Fair will be at St. Pancras Town Hall on May 6.

Much hard work has already been put into planning the two national marches on London at Easter—one of them will be from Aldermaston and the other from Wethersfield air base. Regional Secretary Barry Marks says of London's part: "Our job is really simple. It just consists of getting 10,000 people from the Region booked to march this Easter and ensuring that there are a lively quarter of a million people in and around Trafalgar Square on the Easter Monday."

CHRISTMAS AID FOR ALGERIAN REFUGEES

THE choir of Friends' School, Saffron Walden, sang carols in London last week on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, in aid of a Home for Aged Refugees on the Moroccan-Algerian

IMMEDIATE PROTEST AT FRANCE'S THIRD A-TEST

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE EXPLOSION OF FRANCE'S THIRD ATOM BOMB IN THE SAHARA ON TUESDAY MORNING THE GOVERNMENT OF NEIGHBOURING MOROCCO WAS DRAFTING ITS PROTEST.

In spite of the customary announcement that "every precaution had been taken to protect African people from fall-out risks," the Nigerian Federal Prime Minister asked the French Ambassador in Lagos to call at the Foreign Ministry to hear his "shocked" views.

In Ghana, President Nkrumah summoned an emergency Cabinet meeting which will today (Friday) discuss Ghana's line of action. An Arab League spokesman in Cairo thought that Arab countries should immediately break off political and economic relations with France to counter such "criminal acts."

From further afield came Russia's accusation that the test was carried out in defiance of the UN resolution on the discontinuation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. In Tokyo a Foreign Ministry official said that Japan will lodge a formal protest.

A Washington spokesman said that the

new test did not surprise America, but the United States was against "the proliferation of atomic capabilities."

The atom bomb dropped from a tower at Reggane, in the Desert of Thirst, has been described by scientists as a baby—by nuclear standards. As harmless, indeed, as the equivalent of 5,000 tons of TNT. The Hiroshima bomb had four times as much explosive power, and the modern H-bomb 4,000 times as much.

Experts on defence suggest that this is another step towards a tactical nuclear weapon for use in "small" wars. Other experts think that France may be regarding this "baby" as merely the detonator to subsequent hydrogen bombs.

The rats and mice subjected to the radia-

tion, and then flown to Paris for examination, will show, it is hoped, whether cock-tails of chemicals and artificial sleep provide adequate safeguards from fall-out.

Israel's Bomb denied

THE third Sahara atomic test has only added to existing anxiety in the Arab world.

With French help a large new reactor has been constructed in the Negev, in Israel. First enquiries about this building, according to some reports, drew the explanation that it was a textile plant, but long-range photographs revealed the truth.

"If this is so," said *The Times'* Washington correspondent, "there has been concealment on one side and espionage on the other."

On December 9 Washington formally asked Israel whether she was intending to construct atomic weapons. Last week Mr. Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, said that a reactor being built in the Negev desert was "dedicated entirely to peaceful purposes."

American anxiety was doubtless made more public than usual in response to an Arabic broadcast from Moscow alleging that the USA had already given a ready-made atom bomb to Israel. Surprise and concern over a possible Franco-Israel bomb seemed a better response than a mere denial.

Victory Day speech

Mr. Ben-Gurion's statement was not likely to set Arab minds at rest, and President Nasser had much to say on the subject in his Victory Day speech last Friday. "If we become sure," said President Nasser, "that Israel is building an atom bomb, this will be the beginning of war between us and Israel." This was greeted with tremendous applause.

President Nasser summed up the matter

A world peace brigade of war resisters?

A 50-MEMBER committee is being set up to work out the details of a World Peace Brigade. A call for volunteers has already gone out in India.

This is the result of one of the resolutions of the War Resisters' International conference held at Gandhigram this week and last.

Hugh Brock cabled *Peace News* from Chinnalapatti:

From all parts of the world war resisters and constructive peace workers came to South India. Here, too, were Indians in large numbers: Bhoodan workers, IVS Indian work campers, and veteran "Free India" campaigners now at work in Vinoba's Peace Army.

The conference opened on December 21 when nearly 1,000 people gathered in

which ended on Tuesday, were for the establishment of a World Peace Brigade, and for support to Indian resistance against conscription and compulsory military training in schools.

The Peace Brigade proposal was made by many outstanding leaders of non-violent direct action, Bhoodan and Sarvodaya, including Danilo Dolci, Michael Scott, Jayaprakash Narayan, Asha Devi, and Dom Bede Griffiths. The conference resolution approving the proposal recognises possible difficulties in language, finance, and training, and the committee of 50 is asked to seek solutions. The conference was able to draw on the experience of the Indian Shanti Sena now

Our job is really simple. It just consists of getting 10,000 people from the Region booked to march this Easter and ensuring that there are a lively quarter of a million people in and around Trafalgar Square on the Easter Monday. . ."

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Appealing for generous giving, Canon Collins told the lunch-time audience of the appalling conditions of the elderly Algerian refugees who have fled across the frontier empty-handed, to find only damp caves and threadbare tents for shelter against the bitter North African winter. Many of them are without even blankets and are living at starvation level.

The event was organised by Christian Action and part was recorded by the BBC, to be broadcast in their overseas service. The collection raised £36 and other donations were anticipated.

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The conference opened on December 21 when nearly 1,000 people gathered in and around the Annapoorna Pandal (a huge structure of bamboo and tiles, open on all sides) to hear WRI secretary Arlo Tatum call on delegates to stand and be recognised.

The delegates came from Britain, France, West Germany, Italy (a warm greeting here for Italy's sole representative, Danilo Dolci), America, Eire, Belgium, Japan, Ceylon, Norway, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Canada, Holland, Ghana, Israel, Finland, Switzerland, South Africa, and India—including "Europeans who have made India their home."

G. Ramachandran, a member of the advisory board of Gandhi Samarak Nidhi, welcoming the delegates, recalled the World Pacifist Meeting of 1949. "This is almost the same kind of people," he said, "which met then. Humble people, not people in power, but those who have worked for peace and come to India again."

India's Government

He continued on a militant note, admiring non-violent action in Britain and America. "Have we done this much in India? We shall have to come into conflict with our own Government some day." Mr. Ramachandran concluded with a strong plea for India to disarm unilaterally.

At the business session the following day a proposal by Arlo Tatum and Tony Smythe, his assistant, for association with certain other sympathetic organisations and publications was carried without discussion. This will grant admission to groups such as the Northern Friends Peace Board, and journals like *Manas* and *Liberation*.

The main proposals of the conference,

which ended on Tuesday, were for the establishment of a World Peace Brigade, and for support to Indian resistance against conscription and compulsory military training in schools.

The Peace Brigade proposal was made by many outstanding leaders of non-violent direct action, Bhoodan and Sarvodaya, including Danilo Dolci, Michael Scott, Jayaprakash Narayan, Asha Devi, and Dom Bede Griffiths. The conference resolution approving the proposal recognises possible difficulties in language, finance, and training, and the committee of 50 is asked to seek solutions. The conference was able to draw on the experience of the Indian Shanti Sena, now 2,000 strong, which has been operating in the war-torn Naga area.

Dolci's work

On Boxing Day Danilo Dolci, Harold Bing, and I were at Madura talking to intellectuals at the Lion's Club meeting in an expensive hotel. The Madura Lions heard Dolci talk about his work in Sicily, and Harold Bing explained the outline of the War Resisters' International. They asked me about the use of Gandhian techniques in Western non-violent direct action.

The conference over, Michael Scott hopes to see Premier Nehru about the tension with the Naga tribes. Asha Devi, Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland, George Willoughby and I will meet Vinoba, who is now north of Gaya. This meeting with Vinoba might well be significant, since Bhoodan workers in the south are seriously considering non-violent direct action where previous methods have failed.

The new Council of the War Resisters' International indicates the strong support of direct actionists, whose influence throughout the conference has been strong. The council now consists (in order of votes received) of: Pierre Martin, Bayard Rustin, Danilo Dolci, Jan van Lierde, Banwarilal Choudhri, Bill Sutherland, Tony Bishop, Joseph Abileah, Johan Galtung, Stuart Morris and Hagbard Jonassen (with the same number of votes) and Heinz Kraschutzki.

Stuart Morris very ably drafted and presented the final conference statement.

This statement will appear in next week's *Peace News*.

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President Nasser summed up the matter: "If Israel can make an atom bomb, we too can make an atom bomb. We shall not, under any circumstances, allow Israel to gain superiority over us. We shall always maintain superiority over Israel whatever we may sacrifice and whatever this costs."

On Tuesday Bahajet Talhun, the Jordan Prime Minister, said that his Cabinet had decided to call Arab diplomatic representatives to Jordan to discuss the reports that Israel intends to make an atom bomb. This meeting would decide whether to call a special meeting of the Arab League council.

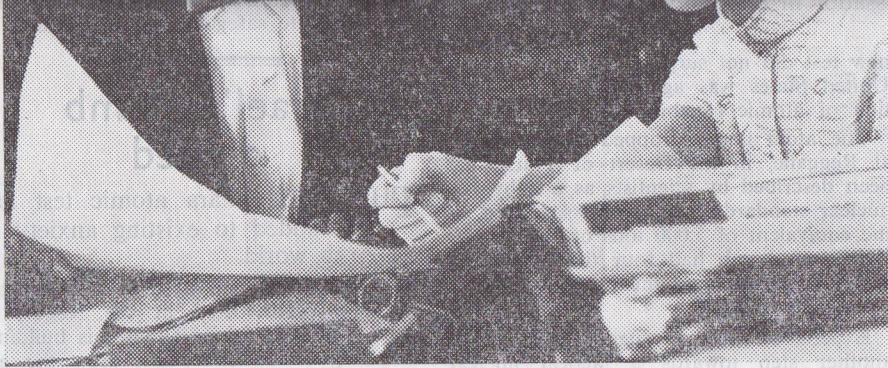
Briefly

Committees to abolish capital punishment are functioning in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Texas. Their addresses can be obtained from the office of the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, NY, USA.

The strontium 90 dose level was again revised on December 21. The Medical Research Council's committee on the hazards to man of nuclear and allied radiations recommended a lower maximum permissible level of radio-active strontium 90 in bone marrow than in their 1956 report.

About 200 marchers completed the third day of the coast to coast march on Tuesday. The National Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will finish its trek across Lancashire and Yorkshire this Sunday, January 1.

The Norwegian Government on Dec. 16 rejected a recommendation by Army leaders that the country should introduce tactical atomic weapons into its defence forces.



THE people you see in these pictures are of different races, creeds and national origins.

Yet they have two things in common

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PACIFISTS IN THE USA are concerned not only with providing leadership for the sit-ins in the Deep South which are ending the colour bar at eating places. In the North they are working at what in some ways can be a more difficult problem, ending race discrimination in industry and the professions.

Since 1946 they have pushed forward a nation-wide campaign to ensure that people are employed on merit and that no one is debarred from work because of race, religion or national origin.

The photos on this page are just a few of those which have been used on leaflets and brochures sent to thousands of employers in the USA by the American Friends Service Committee, the Quaker peace education body.

Over in column one is a part of the argument they have used in a leaflet widely distributed in Chicago, arguments which are valid in every country where discrimination is practised.

TOP: Walter E. Brewster, assistant to instalment loan supervisor at Main State Bank, Chicago, goes over a report with Geraldine Farrell, general clerk. CENTRE: Shyrlee Dallard, shareholder records secretary with the Scott Paper Co. of Chester, Pa., with Legal Department executive, Valentine Fine. BOTTOM: Susie Akinaga is cashier at a Chicago bank. Chicago photos courtesy of Idaka.

